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There are many points of contact where the Spanish and Anglo-American Southwestern cultures not only accept each other, but recognize virtually intrinsic values. In cases where the two cultures are apart they are not inimical except among individuals who have lost the values of both cultures. The problem is how to bring the cultural poles together. The starting point is for both cultures to know and understand themselves. They will then be in a position to know each other and achieve mutual understanding and acculturation. Before cultures can reach approximation they must be at the same level. In this case, there is a great difference between a Spanish folk culture and an Anglo complete society. A drawing together of the two cultures is simpler in rural areas than in urban society, which enforces standards of financial success, cleanliness, status, efficiency, thoroughness, speed, civic mindedness, materialism, and growth and change which are difficult for the non-American to adapt to. The configurations of urban society with all virtues and defects should be understood, followed by an analysis of folk culture. Eventually, mutual acceptance through knowledge and understanding may be achieved.

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CULTURAL VARIATIONS IN THE CULTURES OF THE SOUTHWEST

by

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The adaptation of man to his environment seems to be a never-ending struggle because he is a human being rather than an animal endowed with fixed attributes for his survival. Man adapts himself to all manifestations of nature whether it be climate, topography, flora and fauna and also adapts to other men either singly or collectively. His adaptation can be passive or he may struggle to overcome his physical surroundings. Thus, some men move mountains or tunnel through them, while others go around them or over them; some remove trees, change the course of rivers, make dams or plant trees depending upon their needs. Some move to wooded areas, if it is trees they want, or settle in the desert if they don't want them. Some join clubs and societies in order to be in the company of other men, while others seek the cloister or a cave wherein to live alone. Some remain single in order to find solitude, and others marry and even practice polygamy.

Our attempt to solve our problems of modus vivendi stems from the fact that our society has grown to the point where living together has become inevitable. But our case is not unique. People all over the world are faced with a similar problem, and more acute than ours perhaps. We do not put up iron curtains and brick walls, except in our minds some times, and we share in common in America much more than it would seem at first glance.

* Paper prepared for and delivered July 18, 1963, at the Bilingual-migrant Education workshop conducted by The Center for Cultural studies of Adams State College.

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Perhaps we are trying to look at our present bicultural situation too close, as though it had been created by the present generation. Some aspects of the lack of mutural understanding are current, but in the main the causes that make two cultures drift apart or fail to come together go back many years and even centuries. It may be that our lack of perspective has stood in the way of comprehension.

When we look at Spanish and English cultures in the light of world culture, and in contrast with some of the other cultures of the world we find them very much alike. But as we focus upon these cultures in detail, or better yet, when we find them coexisting as we do here in the southwest, we find some contrasts and also some interesting similarities. In order to fully understand the mutuality of the lack of it in these cultures cultures we must examine their nature in Europe before they were transported to the new world, and also study the motives that brought them across.

English culture was an insular culture, highly integrated and closely organized, whereas Spanish culture was peninsular and highly individualized. Moreover, the Spaniards came to the new world in an enterprise of discovery--not to discover the new world but to discover a new route to India. They continued their search for this new route until they finally achieved it by sailing around South America. They continued in that same frame of mind in search of something: of land, or riches, of gold and also in search of the kingdom of heavenupon the earth. Ponce de Leon was looking for the fountain of youth, and the early fathers were looking for souls to save.

The English, on the other hand, came to a land already discovered--they sought it as a haven, a refuge from political and religious persecution. They proceeded to build their homes, raise families and build a new nation. This insular group had no desire to assimilate another race of people nor acculturate any of them. They wanted to live apart and maintain their identity. (Other imigrants also)

The Spaniards came on the height of a humanistic wave and set up the type of organization which gave them independence and personal liberty at the expense of the natives. The encomienda, the hacienda and all other political, administrative units were subdivisions of the larger Empire where the king held the biggest stakes, and spread from Chesapeake to Patagonia and as far west as the Phillipines. These two forms of social organization, the closely knit organization and the individualized form of culture date back to colonial days, and eventually led to totally different types of cultural orientation.

Anglo-American culture began by being absolutist, that is, a culture wherein all dominant values were considered the same for all cultures regardless of time and place. Such values as kindness, justice, charity, love, honesty, etc. were considered as the superior social order for man and were of a philosophic-religious nature expressed in the Ten Commandments and in the American constitution. All men are created equal.

The Spaniard on the other hand developed a relativist viewpoint with less moral implications in man's actions. Values were looked upon as the result of social conditions and man's degree of civilization. This was a more indulgent way of looking at life. Of course, some of these values have been modified in both cultures, but before any changes occurred they brought about many of the conditions with which we are faced today.

Anglo-American culture modified its original absolutist nature and became somewhat universalized, that is, it began to admit of certain universal values, outstanding among which was the recognition of mutual assistance. Anthropologists maintain that without this value there is a tendency for many species to disappear. We find today mutual assistance in the welfare programs, social security, etc., and in its universal sense the present-day Foreign Aid Program of the U.S. is the ultimate of this cultural value. This does not mean that we accept other nations' cultural

values, but that we are willing to engage in universal pluralism by extension of our universal values, that is, we can coexist without the acceptance of each other's values. If we analyze our situation in the southwest, we'll find a sort of universal pluralism.

The situation has not remained static as we shall see. There are many areas in which both cultures, Spanish and English, in the southwest have crossed each other's borders without fear of recrimination and with considerable understanding. Linguistically, English is the language of the dominant culture, and is the language used by both cultures, but even those greatly opposed to each other's cultures find it necessary to use partially or wholly the English and Spanish language. (The most effective swearwords for the Spanish speaking are found in English and vice-versa.) Seriously, the English language borrows more from Spanish in the Southwest than from any other modern language and the inverse is true of Spanish. How else would you speak of chaps, lariat, sombrero, bronco, tomato, potato, and chocolate than by using words that have come into the English language through Spanish. And what would a Spanish speaking person do with beisbol, futbol, club, control, lider, etc. I think that linguistically the two cultures have gone beyond coexistence and have reached a mutual understanding.

Economically the same interrelations are apparent right here at home. The Spanish speaker buys dry cereals, corned beef, ham and eggs, fried chicken, and hamburgers along with all other Anglo-American products on the market. And the Americano has parlayed chile con carne, tacos and tamales through drive-ins, assembly line production, canned goods and TV frozen dinners into one of the most lucrative enterprises today. In fact, he has learned two things in thsi acculturation process: how to make edible hominy and how to prepare Spanish rice.

Socially and artistically the degree of cultural or mutual understanding is greater and with no resistance from either side. Spanish speakers indulge in the twist and Anglos do the Samba with equal facility and success. They can dance to Tommy Dorsey or Xavier Cougat or a typical mariachi. Artistically, there is even admiration for each other's products. The American runs all the way down to Mexico to purchase art objects with which to beautify house interiors and the Spanish speakers patronize everything from Neusteters to Montgomery Ward depending upon their income. This artistic fervor has gone so far that museums in Colorado Springs boast of valuable collections of Santos carved by Spanish artisans, and recently a Mexican artist residing in Denver has offered to paint a mural at the University of Colorado.

Where then do the two cultures begin to drfft apart, or rather, where have they failed to come together and understand each other. The great differences occur in attitudes, in points of view and in the way each other look at things. For example, the insular culture is concerned with unmixed racial stock, and rejects those whose skin tones differ from his, be they yellow, brown, red or black. The other, being peninsular and accustomed to mixtures over the centuries may show some preference for the lighter tones, in some cases, but he does not reject or exclude the darker shades nor even dislike them. Not when so many songs have been written to his "morena graciosa del rostro encendido." This is also why the conquest produced so many mestizos from the Southwest to Chile, and so few in the North American continent.

But before going into some of the cultural configurations wherein both cultures vary, it must be understood that hardly any trait of culture can be well understood when taken out of its general setting. In the case of Spanish culture as we see it in the Southwest, with very few

exceptions, it is a folk culture, part of a whole society such as exists in Spain or in Latin America. The representatives of this culture are for the most part folk whose immediate need is urbanization because they live in a community. They are the result of a "natural" will in which personal relations are based on kinship and neighborliness, functioning through concord folkways and mores which are complemented or cemented by a uniform religion in most cases or by a uniform value system. This is the ideal town or village life, a country life as it were, which, when it moves into a large city usually locates on the periphery. The internal relations of the group are usually personal and familial, not much inclined towards the formation of objective institutions, disassociated from kinship ties. There is little division of labor. In rural areas or small villages this is understandable in that the occupation of most members of the folk is agriculture or common labor. Their technology is simple, uniform and constant.

In an urban society quite the contrary is the case. We all measure progress to a large extent by change. Any proud member of the city who has lived for any length of time in a given place will point out to a visitor the changes that have taken place. A hotdog stand of four years ago is now a restaurant; the little grocery store is now a supermarket, and the doctor's office is now a clinic, etc. etc., and the newcomer will be treated to all manifestations of change-progress made, even to such things as population increases.

In the Southwest, there is a dominant culture which comprises a complete society on the one hand, and a Spanish folk culture or American subculture on the other hand. The former is an association resulting from a "rational" will expressed in deliberate social contract planned consciously, not by customs, for the attainment of given ends. In this urban

continum the relationships are impersonal and the calculated actions function through conventions, legislation and public opinion. Notice the strict adherence to custom. In Spanish it is called "La costumbre de la gente," and when unaccepable as a course of action: "No es la costumbre." What about Anglo urban culture?

Urban society's cultural configurations are the moral principles which comprise the social philosophy according to the well-known anthropologist, Margaret Meade. She further says, "They are the patterns of covert behavior: as such they are the culturally approved rules or sentiments which motivate overt behavior and which integrate it into consistent patterns."

These configurations are the basic units of the value system of a society. What, for example, are the basic values of American society? Liz Taylor, hotdogs, and the twist? Seriously, our urban cultural values are not the absolute ethics of our religion-philosophical systems; rather, they are mundane, practical or "this-wordly" as one author puts it. These dominant values are necessary for the continuous functioning of our society.

Our problem would be a lot simpler in determining cultural variants in the southwest if we were dealing with two complete societies. As it is, we are dealing with a community which represents a segment of a full Spanish society, a folk culture which lacks some of the units of the value system present in a normally complete society. When we bank folk culture/against the American society, we do not always come up with very meaningful answers. of the Spanish southwest

For one thing there is a lack of a value system among the Spanish folk. This is usually the result in a community which is composed to a

large extent of people who have lost or who never fully acquired a complete cultural identity with the culture into which they were born, because of displacement at an early age, because of economic deficiencies, because of lack of contact with their original culture, and lack also of educational facilities. Under such conditions they cannot be expected to represent Spanish society although they do represent a truncated, arrested version of Spanish folk culture. Having grown up outside of the culture that bestowed upon them the name Spanish, they have not formed the normal attitudes of Hispanic peoples. This lack of directed cultural flow arises to some extent from the fact that good proportion of the Spanish speaking residents of the Southwest lost their senses of belonging or their sense of direction when coming into subordinate contact with American society, a society which while in transition lacks for them the personal relationships to which they were accustomed in their former village or country life.

The sactions that govern folk conduct are almost sacred--they don't like to be told how to handle their affairs or how to behave. The profile of Spanish speaking folk society is rather marked and consists of additional elements to those which a folk society pure and simple advert. For example, one of the basic differences is the one which stems from individualism or personalism. This in turn derives from the individual's responsiveness to feelings rather than necessity or duty. Feeling is a subjective passion which acts as a trigger to Spanish temperament, the motivating force which underlies action, thinking, and life in general. It is completely detached from a practical or an organized course of action. It seldom leads to cooperative effort and for that reason is

hardly ever conducive to civic-mindedness in the community. On the other hand this culture-trait provides a lot of personal satisfaction and enjoyment. Duty may dictate that a student prepare his lesson today and necessity may likewise advise the same, but when the telephone rings, the feeling takes over and she says: "Yes I'll go dancing," which you must admit is more enjoyable.

But in order to follow the dictates of feelings there must be a compensating sense of time which helps to assuage the conscience. Those of us who have been reared under the dictates of duty and necessity would be constantly thinking about these two values even while dancing in the most attractive company, but the Spanish speaking individual has also a different time perspective which completely erases any sense of guilt. He "feels" that he must enjoy today what he cannot enjoy manana and, anyhow, tomorrow will be another day. Something will turn up, and if it doesn't, the time to worry about it is manana, not today, caramba while with a nice girl and dancing the Cha Cha Cha! In American culture our time perspective has become so deeply ingrained in our personality that we feel a profound sense of guilt whenever we are late or miss an appointment. Because of this strict sense of duty and necesaity, we find ourselves telling our host that we are late because we missed the bus, because the car wouldn't start, because we had car trouble or because unexpected callers dropped in just as we were about to leave. In Spanish speaking society, where time perspective is not governed by the postulates of duty, a person arrives late to a party and merely greets the host with an intimate abrazo, a warm feeling and does not feel the need to fabricate an excuse. No need for white lies.

This difference of time perspective is awkward in a society that is constantly running ahead of the clock with 1963 cars in 1962, spring fashion showings in the winter and next month's Reader's Digest today.

Notice that the Revista Hispanica Moderna, a journal of Ibero-American literature is behind one whole year, while the Saturday Evening Post tries to seel you subscriptions for a year hence and like the Reader's Digest and other American magazines it is weeks ahead. Spanish culture is the reverse of this. The present is so important that there is little time left to think about the future. Lately we have seen a modification on both sides, a compromise perhaps occasioned by comment and understanding.

There is another cultural variant which is probably the most difficult to understand because it is so involved in cultural values and that is the sense of being. It is exemplified by such a question as might be heard in ordinary conversation. One usually asks when wising to identify someone: "What does he do?" or "What does her husband do?" It is a natural question for a culture where action is important. In Spanish such a question would be awkward to phrase. "Que hace ese señor?" would mean what is he doing here? or Why isn"t he here? The counterpart is "Who is he?" And all that need be said is that he is Mr. So and So. Being is the most he can be, because it is the distinction that can be attained simply by being alive. It is on this point that Spanish culture whether folk or cultivated is a bit touchy. A blow directed at a person"s being injures his amor propio, at his pride of being. In other words he believes that he has the right to be, whether tall or short, blonde or brunette, elegant or careless. The action culture is more concerned with the right to do and is constantly defending it as a constitutional privilege. The real problem comes when you try to equate these two cultural values. One is more static and the other more mobile, that is, the right to do enables a person of lowly being to become a person of consequence. But the other tends to stratify society and cause the individual to remain in the same state of being year in and year out, and for generations sometimes. An ideal fusion of these two

values would be for one to respect the sense of being and the other to try action as a sort of "operation boot-straps."

When we deal with culture-traits on apaper and examine their relative values we can easily speculate as to what would be the ideal assimilation of both extremes, but unfortunately human society does not always follow such a desirable development. If it did we would not be here today. Oftentimes, when two cultures meet and one becomes dominant, the other tends to set up defense mechanisms which are rin reality inimical to both sides. One of these is negative self-assertiveness. Under social tension and pressures, some Spanish individuals in the Southwest, and particularly where they are very much in the minority, react violently against situations they don't approve of, against a person they have come to dislike, or against the society by which they may have been wronged. Instead of fighting for something, they seem to be fighting against something, and such an attitude is usually a serious obstacle to cultural integration, because attention in being drawn to individuals as dissatisfied members of society who are considered anti-social.

Another problem is that of confusion, leading either to self pity or self hate, and every action on the part of the dominant culture is interpreted by such expression as "They do it because they hate us," or "They do it because they feel sorry for us." At this point the individual becomes thoroughly disoriented and then he ends up by saying "I don't give a damn," and the shooting starts. This is the point of no return, and is of course what happens to individuals of a given culture, whether Spanish or English, when they lose their sense of values completely.

There are a number of culture traits in Spanish society which are supposed to be distinguishing characteristics, such as courtesy. Not that courtesy is absent from the Anglo inventory, but the manner in which

it originates is different. Courtesy to the Anglo-American is more objective, it is propriety more than feeling. Again it is a matter of duty and necessity. What is the right thing to do under given circumstances? If you must know, you consult a manual much in the same manner in which a lawyer would consult a law book to clarify a point of law. Not only that, but there are people who make a living advising as to what proper behavior is under such circumstances as weddings, coming out parties, etc. In Spanish culture, courtesy is a human attitude, and individual feeling of one person for another. However, the same attitude does not prevail towards collective society or to an impersonal institution such as the law, with the result that there is less regard for the latter.

A good number of traits and practices which are attributed to the Spanish heritage of Spanish speaking people here and in the Southwest generally, are in reality traits that one would expect to find in the folk culture of any nation. Consequently the intermediary step in the process of acculturation is urbanization pure and simple. In actuality this is what we are saying when we recommend that the Spanish speaking community acquire more technical competence, that they accept and adapt to the change instituted by progress, that they develop acquisitiveness, that they manifest a greater faith in formal education. To the degree that they move in the direction pointed out by these objectives they become urbanized. In the process of integrating the Spanish speaking community with American society the urbanization of folk culture is an essential and indispensable step. The Social Sciences Research Council pointed out the importance of this cultrual transformation intthe acculturation process by saying:

> "Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted and fitted to it. <u>This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and the receiving cultures.</u>"

In other words, the cultural groups involved should be in an essentially reciprocal relationship. If both cultures are going to give and take, there must be first a reciprocal approximation of cultural level. The process will be gradual but it can be accomplished just as it has been already accomplished by individual members of the Spanish speaking community who have been properly oriented either through effective counseling or through their own efforts. An educated Spaniard or Latin American does not need to go through this process because he is already within the societal level which he represents and his acculturation is simply a translation of this culture into terms understandable to American society. The conversion suggested by the Research Council does not mean that the Spanish speaking community is going to lose its identity. They only way to lose complete identity is through assimilation, but this is a biological process resulting from other persuasive forces. When the process of integration sets in, once the foregoing conditions have been met, it is valid to consider what is being adopted by both groups and why. The culture of the Spanish speaking community, existing as it does within a dominant urban culture, is lacking in the culturally approved rules and sentiments which motivates overt behavior and integrates into consistent patterns. The patterns of convert behavior followed when dealing with and in the society of their own Spanish-speaking-folk-kinship are much more uniform. Actually what we have is two types of behavior: one used in attempting to conform to the dominant culture, and sometimes frowned upon by the minority culture; and the one which they find more satisfying because it is more natural, used in intimate personal relationships and in familiar situations. This ambivalence is likely to give the outsider the impression that Spanish speaking people are hostile to American culture, that they are retrogressive or unduly conservative. Ture, there is a noticeable resistance to the dominant culture, but not for the reasons

generally ascribed. In addition to being of a different national origin, the dominant culture is at a level which the average Spanish speaking person has not yet attained and cannot therefore assimilate. Notice for example the rural American in his relations which an equally rural Spanish speaking person, both products of a folk culture, and you will find a greater affinity at this comparable level despite the differences of language.

It is difficult to equate a society and a folk culture such as the ones with which we are here concerned because they are at different developmental levels. American society as we understand it in this frame of reference is an urban culture quite different even from its own folk culture in many ways. And when we add such elements as the ethnocentricity of Indian accretions to the Spanish of the Southwest, the contrast between Spanish folk culture and American urban society becomes even more accentuated.

We have considered in part the nature of Southwestern folk culture, or rural culture if you wish. Now by way of contrast let us examine for a few minutes the nature of the urban culture from which it differs. Briefly, the dominant culture is a highly integrated, culturally heterogenous, occupationally diversified society with a complicated technology. In such a society, change is at a premium, and the social organization is not based on family ties. If we take an inventory of an ordinary city block, we will discover that the next-door neighbor is a carpenter, the person down the street is a Federal employee, a public school teacher or even a clergyman. These all represent different occupations, different religions, and even different national origins. Yet, they work in concert through the non-familial institutions that govern urban society.

Over and above the variants which I have pointed out between the folk and society, there are other differences which arise from the national culture. A brief reference to some of the values in Anglo-American culture will reveal some interesting variants with Hispanic culture. The principal value in American life is success, a success which may be measured in at least five different ways. It can be economic acquisition, that is, profits and a bank account; it can also be political position, from city commision to President; professional attainment, whether a school teacher, a medical doctor, or scientist; artistic recognition for the actor, the singer, or the painter; and last but not least, matrimony, especially for the ladies. They too speak of "successful marriages," and experience considerable frustration when forced through fate to remain single. Another American value that we discover with annoyance when travelling is efficiency. This can be expressed in punctuality because of our peculiar sense of time perspective by which we expect 1964 models in 1963 and the Saturday Evening Post on Wednesdayss Speed is a concomitant of efficiency; things have to be done fast whether it's "fast, fast" relief from a cold, to speed on the highway, or in the air. We also consider it efficient to do things timely, at the right time. The thing in question is considered good and efficient only because it came through at what we consider the "Psychological moment."

Another manifestation of efficiency is thoroughness. A man may be talented or brilliant and yet unsuccessful because our standards also demand thoroughness to the point of conformity. And lastly, efficiency is gauged by practicality. Leisure and artistic enjoyment are two commodities we don't know how to enjoy to the fullest because they are so impractical. They only time we enjoy a vacation, that is, leisure, is when it is paid for!

Comfort, particularly physical comfort, is well cared for by our society through its emphasis on design. A kitchen, a bathroom, a car, a shopping center is designed tin order to give the utmost comfort to the public. Chairs are sometimes monstrous looking but comfortable to sit in. And, in achieving this design and comfort, size and planning have an important role. Things are made so easy to manipulate that they are automatic. There is the least expenditure of effort and the minimum of intelligence required to run and manipulate some of the most complicated gadgets. You can comfortable sit and press a button to change a channel in TV. Also, things must be superlative, the biggest, the tallest, the most this and that, but above all they must follow a plan. Even good times are planned to such an extent that participants when left to their own designes will often inquire: "What douwe do next?"

Another value which we treasure highly is cleanliness and sanitation, in fact the latter is the result of a higher order of values attained through scientific investigation. It is not enough that a glass look clean, it must be free of bacteria, it must be sterilized. We demand cleanliness in personal appearance, in household care. A house must be cleaned not only "dondemire ne sungra" as they say in Spanish. There must also be civic upkeep, clean parks and public installation also. Lastly, cleanliness is exemplified by our public catering, and public eating places are graded from A to failure, depending upon their bacterial count.

A fifth value in American society is that which is concerned with civic mindedness. The citizenry is urged to participate in politics by the exercise of suffrage if nothing else, and public affairs are the concern of the public and have been since the days of the old town hall meeting. Civic interest is manifested by our concern over public

improvements and by support of public institutions even though it means a tax burden sometimes; and in this same category, we have developed an undue manía for organization and membership. Anytime we wish to support or ¢condemn any action we organize, elect a President, compose a constitution and pay dues. Some of us become professional joiners and belong to more organizations than we can attend. This leads to one of our most recently criticized values: uniformity or conformity. We wear the same haircuts, the same style of dress, the same coiffures and in general, behave or try to do the same as everybody else. Our children do not date to deviate from certain practices in their "set" for fear of censure or being an "odd ball." If we act or do differently than others we are not consistent. This consitency leads to a higher degree of traditionalism that we are willing to acknowledge. And lastly there is the great premium we place on change and growth as I pointed out before. This does not mean that we are changing our habits, but that there is a fluddity in the status quo which we call progress. A young man would be completely disillusioned if he were told that he would have remain in a job for the rest of his life. A delivery boy dreams of becoming the manager or even the owner of the establishment he works for, and very often he does. One reason why we have such poor waiters is that they consider this a temporary job. I have already alluded to the growth and change of the hot dog stand and the clinic. By way of contrast, when I was in Spain I had dinner at a restaurant established in 1665 which had not moved to a "larger location" and which has not changed hands since it was established. In fact, one of their sources of pride is showing the customers the worn indentions on the oven where they have been preparing roast suchlings for nearly three centuries!

In conclusion, we can see that there are many points of contact where Southwestern cultures not only accept each other but they recognize their virtually intrinsic values. In cases where the two

cultures are apart they are not necessarily inimical except among individuals who have lost the values of both cultures. The cultural poles can be brought closer together, with benefits to both. The great problem is how. In my way of thinking, the starting point is for both cultures to know and understand themselves before they venture into the mission field. Then they will be in a position to know each other ad and achieve the mutual understanding and acculturation so greatly desired. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that before cultures can reach any degree of approximation they must be at the same level, and in this case there is a great difference between a Spanish folk culture and an Anglo complete society. The configurations of urban society with all virtues and defects should be understood, followed by an analysis of folk culture hoping that evenually mutual acceptance through knowledge and understanding may be achieved.